

[Grieve, G.](#) "Cosmological Corrections: Mapping the Ideological Construction of Traditional Places in Bhaktapur, Nepal," [Studies in Nepali History and Society](#) 9, Issue 2 (2004): 375-406.

Made available courtesy of [The Nepal Studies Group, Centre for Social Research and Development.](#)

COSMOLOGICAL CORRECTIONS: MAPPING THE IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITIONAL PLACES IN BHAKTAPUR, NEPAL

[Gregory Grieve](#)

Signs do not constitute maps. At most, they are a pointer to the cosmological structures of the people who made them.

— Catherine Delano Smith (1994:13)

People are the function of their geography, geography is everything. Community—everything "and dot dot dot."

—Yogesh Raj (personal communication, February 6, 1999)

Introduction: Cosmology Today

On October 3, 1997, the mayor of Bhaktapur, Nepal, Prem Suwal, delivered a speech at the inauguration of the city's Tourist Motor Park. He stressed how the newly built complex would increase Bhaktapur's value as a "Traditional City" by cleaning up pollution but still allow



Figure 1: Newly constructed road leading from center of Bhaktapur to the Tourist Motor Bus Park which is located around the corner to the left.

tourist revenue to flow into the municipality, which could then be tied back into preserving historic monuments (Grieve 2002a:27-62; fig. 1). The mayor then talked about two upcoming celebrations of tradition—the municipality-organized Bhaktapur Festival 1997 and the nationally organized Visit Nepal Year 1998. He framed these “tradition events” with the themes of religion, development, and tourism and then went on to use a rhetoric of “tradition” for pragmatic purposes: requesting that the military stop encroachment on public lands in Bhaktapur, a call to decrease unemployment, and the need for prompt repair of the road between Sallaghari and Nagarkot. He also used the concept of tradition to elaborate on the municipality’s struggle over the sewage system, as well as its efforts to correct the damage done to the Hanumante River.

While the mayor employed “tradition” (*paramparā*) as modern and pragmatic, foreign scholars researching in Bhaktapur tend to treat tradition as an ancient socioreligious organization that is dichotomized to modernity (cf. Grieve 2002b; compare with Gutschow 1980; Gutschow and Klöver 1975; Gutschow, Klöver, and Shresthacarya 1987; fig. 2).¹ The shortcomings of such ahistorical analysis can readily be seen in Robert Levy’s influential ethnography on Bhaktapur, *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal* (1990:33–51).² Levy is “concerned with the struggle to order Bhaktapur, its particular way of carving out a space and common reality in the face of history” (1990:15; cf. 23). Levy posits Bhaktapur’s society as a dance of symbols that “had tried for hundreds of years to turn the flow of history into what might seem a timeless eternal civic order” (1990:619). According to Levy, this struggle is not only ahistorical but antihistorical. He argues that Bhaktapur’s traditional social order is “a powerful device for turning accident and history into structure, for trying to escape the

1 In Bhaktapur, tradition tends to be glossed by the term “*paramparā*”—a word that is usually translated as “tradition” but might better be translated as “active genealogy.” *Paramparā* is traditional because it uses as a model what your father and grandfather did before you. This sense of tradition as an active and oral handing down of knowledge is still embedded in the English word “tradition.” For instance, Francis Bacon defines tradition as “the expressing of or transferring our knowledge to others” (1605, cited in Williams 1983:319).

2 While *Mesocosm* was published with the collaboration of Kedar Raj Rajopadhyaya, a Bhaktapur pundit, Levy does not consult him for the argument of the book, but only for proper information. Levy’s “collaboration” is structurally similar to the post-1858 use of local conservative elites in the British Raj (Grieve 2002a; Metcalf and Metcalf 2002).



*Figure 2: Bhaktapur's Cyasi Mandap (looking west in Durbar Square).
Reconstructed by Deutsche Gesellschaft Fuer Technische
Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Nepali Department of Archaeology.
Photography by Greg Grieve.*

contingencies and consequences of history, for trying to escape change, to make change seem illusory within an enduring order" (1990:616).

While foreign scholars have concentrated primarily on traditional socioreligious organization, Nepali scholars researching after 1951 have chiefly been concerned with history. One of the greatest contributions to Nepali historical research was the creation of the Circle for the Correction of History (Itihasa Shamshodhana Mandala), which was a group of twenty-one scholars devoted to "purifying" previous interpretations of history.³ From 1955 to 1958, the Circle published a series of pamphlets under the name "History Corrections" (Itihasa Shamshodhana), which

3 This group was organized by Naya Raj Pant, who in a series of articles published between 1962 and 1963 formulated a systematic approach to field methodology and a critical interpretation of history. See Naya Raj Pant, "Abhilekha-saṃgrahako vyākhyā garne bāto [The Method of Interpreting Collections of Inscriptions], *Abhilekha Saṃgraha* [Collected Inscriptions], part 1 (1962), part 2 (1963), and part 3 (1963) (cited in Bangdel 1999). For a listing of his articles, see Slusser 1982:441–42.

played a crucial role in rectifying historical errors (Vajracarya 1962). Elsewhere I have discussed not only the ideology of history, but of Bhaktapur's historiography (Grieve 2002a; 2002b).⁴ In homage to the "Circle for the Correction of History," in this article I use the concept of "cosmology" to correct the more synchronic theories of traditional place.

I maintain that while constructed, traditional cities such as Bhaktapur are not created out of a vacuum, but instead are reconstructed from a conflux of "cosmologies." Often cosmology is understood as "the study of cosmic views in general and also [...] the specific view or collection of images concerning the universe held in a religion or cultural tradition" (Bolte 1978:100). In addition to this term, I use the term cosmology strategically in a fashion similar to how the semiotician Roland Barthes describes "myth." Barthes describes myth as a form of "language robbery" that lays down a second order of meaning onto ordinary first-order language objects (Barthes 1972:111–17, 131–37). For Barthes, myth is an ideological semiological system because it dehistoricizes and thus depoliticizes cultural products.⁵ Accordingly, myths are anything but natural. They serve the particular interests of different groups that use myth to promote specific cultural production. With Barthes' model of myth as "language robbery" in mind, I argue that cosmology should

4 Because of human beings' reliance on language, Althusser felt it was impossible to access our real conditions of existence, and thus he moved away from the earlier Marxist understating of ideology as simply "false consciousness." Instead, for Althusser, ideology represents the material practices by which subjects interact with their imagined conditions of existence. Of crucial importance for him is that ideology is not an outside "object" that happens to a "subject." Instead, according to Althusser, the main purpose of ideology is in "constituting concrete individual subjects" (1971:116). So pervasive is ideology in its constitution of subjects that it forms our very frame and thus appears as not only undeniably "true," but overwhelmingly "obvious." "[I]deology never says, 'I am ideological'" (Althusser 1971:118).

5 Barthes gives an example of a language object, a *Paris-Match*, the cover of which shows "a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting" (1972:116). On a first order, "*a black soldier is simply giving the French salute*" (Barthes 1972:116, italics in original). On the second level of myth, the image signifies "that France is a great empire, that all her sons, without any color discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors" (Barthes 1972:116).

simply be defined as “space” + “ideology.” By “space” I refer to “a first-order abstract territory”—such as that of an aerial photograph—that exists before it is mediated by ideology (Carter and Squires 1993; J. Z. Smith 1993; fig. 3).⁶

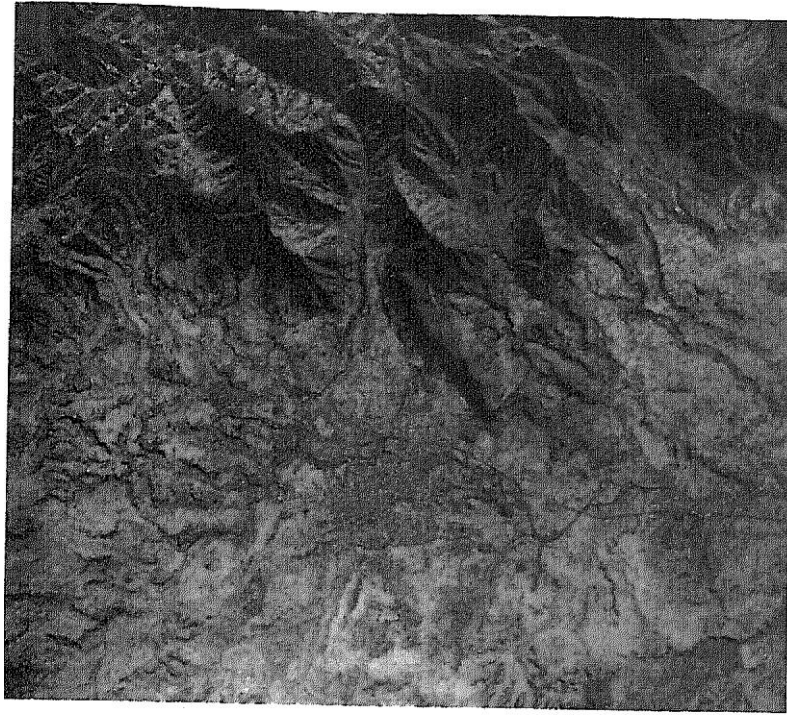


Figure 3: “Raw” abstract space: an aerial photograph of Bhaktapur (courtesy of His Majesty’s Government of Nepal’s Ministry of Civil Aviation).

⁶ However, as the post feminist debate over “sex” and “gender” suggests (or for that matter debates about photography itself), such a pure unmediated reality cannot exist (cf. Barthes 1974; Walker 1997; Weedon 1987). Accordingly, much as Timothy Ash and Napoleon Chagnon used their film rushes from *The Ax Fight* (1975), their documentary about the Yanomamo, as a benchmark against which to measure mediation, I use the concept of “raw space” as a compass point by which to evaluate Bhaktapur’s cosmologies today. Moreover, so as not to fall naïvely into the misconception of pure space-in-itself, my use of ideology stems from the work of Louis Althusser (1971).

The difficulty with critically reading places, however, as Patricia Yaeger argues in the introduction to *The Geography of Identity*, is that "while temporal narratives (like histories or chronologies) offer a comforting seriality that initiates the queuelike patterns of traditional narrative, space moves out in all directions at once, and it is difficult to capture this multiplicity" (1996:4). To critically capture the space of Bhaktapur, I argue that three cartographic artifacts illustrate Bhaktapur's three dominant cosmologies: the mandala, government, and tourist maps (compare fig. 3 with figs. 4, 5, and 6).⁷ Far from being straightforward visual texts, each of the three maps is a form of "territory robbery." Yet, each *robs* differently because each has specific effects of power and obeys its own logical modes of functioning. Each map refers to a different mode of territorial unity, of socioeconomic distribution, of political conflicts, and of identifying symbolism.

To articulate their forms of "space robbery," I theorize the "maps" through three intertwined positions: cartographic artifact, authoritative lexicon, and interpellative discourse. First, by cartographic artifact I am speaking of the actual physical document (figs. 4, 5, and 6). Second, a lexicon is a portion of the symbolic plane that corresponds to a body of practices, techniques, and attitudes (cf. Barthes 1972). Following Bruce

7 It seems necessary to address two apparent difficulties with categorizing these three images together as "maps." First, one might argue that the mandala image is not a true cartographic artifact. Yet, as David Woodward argues, there is no absolute dichotomy between "ideal" cosmographic and "real" cartographic representations of space (1994). Conversely, while few would argue against the mandala being a cosmographic artifact, the government and tourist maps demand some justification. However, as Kees Bolle writes, "We cannot meaningfully speak of an absolute break between religion and science" (1978:105-106). Nor, for that matter, can one speak of a dichotomy between religion and tourism (Vukonic 1996). Moreover, because the government and tourist maps are not "real" representations of space, they are also ideological representations of the city and thus cosmographic. As Mark Monmonier writes, "not only is it easy to lie with maps, it's essential" (1991:1). Epistemologically, not only must maps project the curved reality of three-dimensional temporality into a flat two-dimensional plan, they must use graphic symbols to differentiate features (Dent 1990; Maling 1989). Ideologically, a map's "fibbing" goes beyond such necessary fabrications but configures space and claims territory in a manner that benefits and justifies a particular group of people (Harley 1988). That is, maps also contain political elements that must be read with care (Black 1997).

Lincoln, by authoritative I refer to “the effect of a posited, perceived, or institutionally ascribed asymmetry between speaker and audience that permits certain speakers to command not just the attention but the confidence, respect, and trust of their audience or—an important proviso—to make audiences act *as if* this were so” (1991:4, italics in original; cf. Austin 1962). An authoritative lexicon then is a symbol system that people must act as if they believe. Third, for an authoritative lexicon to become emplotted onto the territory, it relies on a set of interpellating apparatus. By this I am referring to Althusser’s notion of how subjects are both created by and forced to participate in particular ideologies because they are “hailed” by an authoritative set of discourses and practices (1971).⁸

Table 1. Cosmological matrix. The mandala, government, and tourist “maps” as schematized in cartographic artifacts, authoritative lexicons, and interpellative apparatus.

Map	Cartographic Artifact (a)	Authoritative Lexicon (b)	Interpellative Apparatus (c)
(1) Mandala	<i>Yantrakara Khwopa Dey</i> (nd) (fig. 4)	Cadastral	Religious practice
(2) Government	Nepali government (1976) (fig. 5)	Governmentality	Political practice
(3) Tourist	Bhaktapur municipal tourist guide (1997) (fig. 6)	Pragmatic orientalism	Tourist practice

Bhaktapur’s three current dominant cosmologies can be schematized in the following manner (table 1). First, the mandala map, painted by Madhu Krishna Chitrakar, can be understood as a *hala(n) jwala(n)*, or “celebration thing,” by which people generate religiously organized social

8 Such interpellation is usually addressed in the second person “you.” For that reason, this essay consciously uses the second-person address as a style to frame the three maps. I attempt to give an experience of how such interpellative apparati embed the different cosmologies into the landscape (Prince 1982:16–26). My strategy stems from Walter Benjamin’s space projects and his understanding of “literary montage” (1979; 1997; 1999; cf. Buck-Morss 1989). My use of the second person also stems from the work of the Situationists and their notion of “psycho-geography” (cf. Debord 1958–1987).

worlds through cadastral mandala logics (fig. 4). Subjects are interpellated into the mandala through religious practice. Second, the government map, made by the Nepali government in 1976, gains authority through "governmentality" (fig. 5). Governmentality is a term Michel Foucault uses to gloss government rationality, which he defines as "the way the conduct of individuals is found implicated in an ever more marked fashion, in the exercise of sovereign power" (Foucault 1978:101; cf. Foucault 1991:87–104). In Bhaktapur, subjects are interpellated into the government map through politics. Lastly, the tourist map was produced in 1997 by the Bhaktapur municipality and commodifies Bhaktapur's tradition so that it can be sold and is authorized by a pragmatic orientalism (fig. 6). Subjects are interpellated into this map through tourist practice and discourse.

By critically reading these three "maps" one can decipher (1) that while tradition's structural significance has a similar function in each map, the content of tradition differs in each case; and (2) that comprehending the ideological role tradition plays in each map is key to addressing the cosmological "myths" by which space in Bhaktapur is transformed to place (table 2).

Table 2. Cosmologies and their ideological relation to tradition.

Map	"Tradition"	Ideology
(1) Mandala	Effective religious practice	Caste social structure
(2) Government	Underdevelopment	Postcolonial relations
(3) Tourist	Money	Commodification

In the mandala map, tradition describes effective everyday religious practices that have been compiled from past generations and inscribes an ideology of caste based on a "myth" of ritual purity (fig. 4). In the government map, tradition describes "backwardness" and emplots postcolonial relations that are inscribed by the "myth" of development (fig. 5). In the tourist map, tradition is "money" and emplots an ideology of commodification that is inscribed by a pragmatic orientalism (fig. 6).

1. The Mandala Map

If you walk about five minutes uphill along the newly brick-paved road from Bhaktapur's Tourist Motor Park, you arrive at the goddess Indrani's

open-air shrine. This is one of locations of the group of nine mother goddesses whose sites surround the city (Levy 1990; Teilhet 1978; Slusser 1982). Take a seat at one of the nearby covered resting spots. If you wait for a moment, you will see people casually walking down the street, touching the god-image, ringing her bell, touching their heads to it, and sprinkling on material offerings. On festival days, this spot becomes a much more active locality. From dawn to dusk, in a steady stream, people will come and offer blood sacrifices to the goddess.

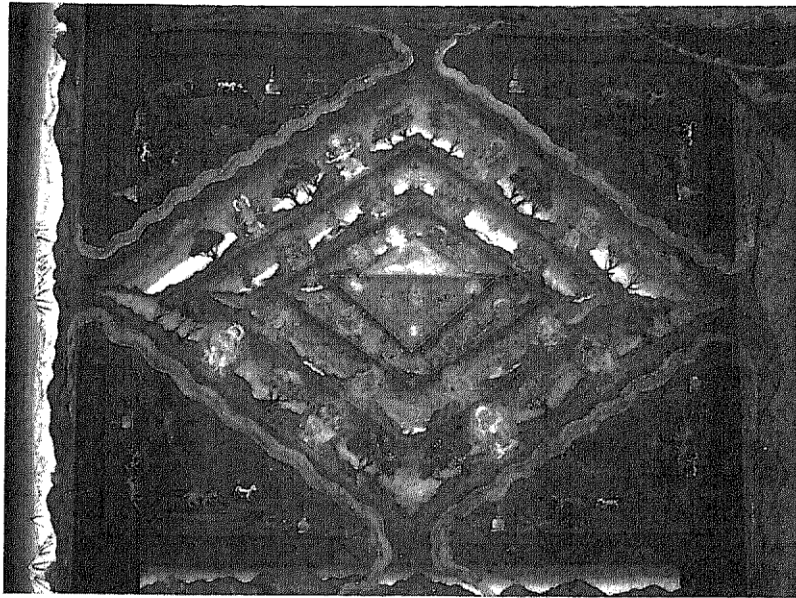


Figure 4: The mandala map (Yantrakara Khwopa Dey) emplots a religiously organized space onto the cityscape of Bhaktapur through a cadastral authoritative lexicon and a religious interpellative apparatus. Image, 25 by 30 inches; tempera paint on cotton canvas. Painted by Madhu Krishna Chitrakar in 1997 and based on older prototype (cf. Klöver 1976; Levy 1990, 153).

While individuals perform such religious practices for numerous and diverse reasons (cf. Gellner 1992), the totality of actions plays a part in emplotting a “mandala map” onto the city. A mandala is a Hindu or Buddhist graphic cosmological image, which in its most basic pattern is usually in the form of a circle divided into four separate sections (Slusser

1982). It has long been argued that many aspects of Nepal's cultural landscape are organized through mandalas; cases have been made that music, hand symbols, people, festivals, ceremonies, temples, shrines, cities, and even the entire Kathmandu Valley have been configured this way (cf. Dutt 1977; Gellner 1985, 1992; Kramrish 1946; Levy 1990; Slusser 1982; Wheatley 1971). As Todd Lewis writes, "The internal order of Newar house, courtyard, neighborhood, city, and Valley—ideally integrated externally with excursions and internally through *dekha* meditations—has a mandala structure that orders and centers Newar life in many domains" (1984:558). How the mandala configures space can be comprehended in (1) the cartographic artifact of the painting *Yantrakara Khwopa Dey*, (2) the authoritative cadastral lexicon, and (3) the interpellative apparatus of religious practice (fig. 4; table 1). The mandala map's use of tradition is ideological because its logic constructs a hierarchical space that imposes caste restrictions based on notions of ritual purity (table 2).

1a. The Cartographic Artifact: Yantrakara Khwopa Dey

As can be seen in the Newar painting, the mandala map of Bhaktapur (*Yantrakara Khwopa Dey*), which was crafted by Madhu Krishna Chitrakar, "mandalization" is most readily apparent in images that configure geographic space (fig. 4).⁹ The basic mandala pattern consists of (1) a recognition of the four directions, (2) which are located at the periphery, and (3) a focus on the center. Elaborating on this basic model, the mandala map depicts three rhomboids of green earth and blue sky

9 While there are many cosmographic images of Bhaktapur (cf. Slusser 1982), I concentrate on the mandala map for two reasons. First, during my ethnographic research, it was referred to by numerous informants (cf. Grieve 2002a). Second, this image has been referenced frequently in scholarly literature. For instance, Joseph Schwartzberg mentions a 1925 copy based on an older model (1992:456). And Bernard Klöver (1976) published a similar image, in "A Ritual Map from Nepal," which is owned by a resident of Bhaktapur, Ratnaraj Sharma (1976: 70). Anne Vergati submitted a paper entitled "The Representation of Newar Towns in Paintings" on this subject in a conference, which was held on June 19–22, 2003, at the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies, University of Leipzig. The scholarly information is important because much of the information I was told about Bhaktapur's religion is secret, and thus while I know religious practices are important for configuring space, I do not wish to give examples from my own fieldwork.

surrounding a small down-turned red central triangle. Just above the red triangle is a smaller up-turned triangle painted to resemble clouds and sky. Set symmetrically along the triangles and rhomboids are images of gods visually lifted off the background by red-orange nimbuses. Beyond the central shapes are four rivers that divide the central images from the surrounding scavenger-infested funeral grounds. Past the funeral grounds are mountain images that correspond loosely with the geographic landscape that surrounds Bhaktapur.

Ib. Authoritative Lexicon: Cadastral World-Building Logics

To theorize how Bhaktapur's mandala's symbolic lexicon configures space, I work from the foundations of the scholarship of the French scholar of Asian religion Paul Mus and his notion of "cadastral religion." Cadastral practices are pragmatic world-building social logics that pose an alternative to what he glosses as the "Upanishadic interpretation" of Hinduism. In contrast to an interpretation that concentrates on salvationist philosophy, ethical scripture, and caste, Mus understands cadastral religion as a ritual logic by which societies in monsoonal Asia generate lived territory (Mus 1998:6; 1975:7, 11–12, 20). "Cadastral," a term that comes to French through Provençal, Venetian, and, ultimately, Late Greek, describes a survey showing boundaries and property lines and pertains to "cadastre"—an official register of ownership, extent, and value of real property in a given territory.¹⁰ For Mus, cadastral sign-objects consist of such things as Buddha statues, *lingums*, and temples. Yet the cadastral object par excellence is the stupa, which he understands as a three-dimensional mandala (Mus 1998).

Mus schematizes the cadastral cosmological generation in three interrelated positions: the divine, the sacred, and the human. The cadastral divine/sacred/human pattern involves a radical disjunction between the plane of the divine, which is constituted by the ineffable, and the plane of the sacred, which is constituted by the concrete sacrificial action that ceremonially produces it. On the one hand is the ineffable divine; on the other is the human position. Between the two is the sacred, which, for the duration of the ritual, concretizes the divine by furnishing it with "eyes and ears" (Mus 1975:14; 1998:106). The key to Mus's cadastral theory of how such mandala cosmologies are generated is the logic of projection. For instance, to create the cadastral cosmos, the mandala map projects two vectors: (1) a connoted "vertical" (↑) nirvanic and (2) a denoted

10 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "Cadastre." <http://oed.com/>.

"horizontal" (\leftrightarrow) samsaric aspect. According to Mus, it is through these two simultaneous projections ($\leftrightarrow \uparrow \rightarrow$) that cadastral territories are made. Utilizing these two projections, the human group not only interacts with the divine, but also through the sacred, it "collectively . . . acquires its right to the land by means of this intermediary" (Mus 1975:44).

The mandala's lexicon gains authority not simply because it visually represents the space of the city, but because it acts as a ceremonial device that produces the ritual space (*Dey*) of Bhaktapur. The symbolic meaning of mandalas has been well explored by Western scholarship (cf. Argüelles and Argüelles 1972; Jung 1972; Tucci 1961, to name only a few). Yet if one attempted to understand the mandala map as "a circular diagram used for concentrating cosmic psychic energy," one would be misled (Rawson 1973:211). Instead the image is utilized as a magical diagram (*Yantrakara*) that configures the space of Bhaktapur (*Khwopa*) as a sacred territory (*Dey*). Although in Sanskrit usage the word mandala simply denotes the quality of being round—as expressed in everything from leprosy spots to the ring of neighbor-states surrounding a kingdom—in contemporary Nepali usage, a mandala is conceptualized as an arrangement of deities conceived of in a set and laid in a tantric "magical" diagram (Blom 1989). As such, the mandala map should not be reduced to either an aesthetically appreciated artwork or a symbol that mimetically represents the city. Rather, it is a *yantra*, "a mystical diagram believed to possess magical or occult powers" (Stutley and Stutley 2003:347). In a similar fashion, Mus argues that such cadastral sign-objects as the mandala map are not symbols that represent an ontological essence, but are rather a type of prototypical god whose ceremonies produce the lived territory of the city. What cadastral sign-objects have in common is that they are not merely symbols that represent the territory, but "blueprints" on which the territory is based. As Mus repeatedly argues, the cadastral sign's "value was not conventional, but constructive" (Mus 1998:85).

1c. Interpellative Apparatus: Temple Ceremonies

To map how the cadastral projections configure territory, I will sketch the ritual structure of Bhaktapur's mother goddesses (cf. Levy 1990).¹¹ Let

11 For reasons indicated in note 9, I concentrate on the mother goddesses because they have been detailed by other scholars. Other gods marked by the map are the eight Ganeshas, ten Mahavidyas, and eight Bhairavas, which also play a part in Bhaktapur's ritual structure. However, because of the secret nature of *tantric* knowledge, I have found it unethical to report upon them.

me start with the cadastral divine signification. Through a connoted “vertical” element, the divine is projected out of human intelligibility altogether (↑). Mus maintains that, in such “nirvanic” semiotic acts, “understanding stops” in “unintelligibility” (Mus 1998). In cadastral practices the ultimately unknowable *divine* element is always just out of reach. It is a teleological point that can be pointed to but never represented. As I argue elsewhere, by creating an “uncanny” feeling (*jhi[n]ja[n] mi[n]ja[n]*), blood sacrifice operates in Bhaktapur in a similar semiotic fashion to Mus’s conception of how nirvana acts as a sign (cf. Grieve 2002a). While unrepresentable, this nothing is not insignificant because it acts as a zenith on which the cosmos is tethered. As Mus argues, like a lotus that projects itself upward out of the world’s muck, the projected divine point becomes a sacred resting place for a local ruling deity. “The lotus by its petals, being equivalent to an explicit schema of the directions of space, commands the cardinal direction, as does the cosmic peak, which its central plateau dominates, and up to which the Master ascends” (Mus 1998:270). This connoted vertical sky point is the overlap between the divine and human worlds’ aspects onto which a polar deity is “piggy-backed” (Mus 1998:274–76).

From the zenith point, the cadastral geographic logic projects out a horizontal this-worldly (↔) element, which configures the space of the city by being tethered to physical sacred spaces. As such, temples and shrines act as an interpellating apparatus because they “pin” the mandala lexicon to the landscape through both material and virtual referents. To articulate the structure, I begin by working from the edges of the map inward. Implied in the mandala map, beyond the edges of mountains are the cardinal directions that house the *Lokapalas* or *Dikpalas*. While in Bhaktapur these “world deities” have no material places of worship, they are significant because their address is the imagined horizons. As Mr. Chitrakar described the guardians of the cardinal directions (starting to the east at the top of the painting and moving clockwise), they are Indra (saffron), Yama (dark blue), Varuna (gray), and Kubera (yellow). Other manuscripts list eight or ten of the deities, as illustrated in a copy of the *Sacitrapatrani* from the National Archives of Nepal (ms. no. 1.1314, reel no. A544/6).

Moving inward along the mandala map, we first transgress the funeral grounds and then ford the rivers. Such movement corresponds to the ideal, if not the actual, territory of Bhaktapur (cf. Levy 1990:149–99). The physical periphery of Bhaktapur is indicated on the mandala map by the outer ring of mother goddesses, such as the goddess Indrani’s open-air

shrine. The use of mother goddess to configure space is a pervasive South Asian representation of a boundary and its contained area within which ritual power and order are held and concentrated. Each of Bhaktapur's eight mother goddesses has a sanctuary outside the city limits where she resides—usually in an unimpressive structure completely hidden in a thick grove of trees. The goddesses are approximately at the eight points of the compass and the city center. For example, starting in the east on the top of the mandala map, the mother goddess's shrines are symbolized as follows: Brahamani, Maheshvari, Kumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Indrani, Mahakali, and Mahalaksmi. In the mandala map, Mr. Chitrakar described the central mark as Tripurasundari and other mandala paintings as forms either of the god Bhairava or of Vishvakarma.

Id. Ideology: A Tradition of Hierarchy

The mandala map places an ideology of caste hierarchy onto the landscape (Parish 1994, 1996). This is an ordered territory in which social status is expressed by greater or lesser proximity to the center. Moreover, verticality and elaboration of decoration also reproduce social hierarchy and decrease with the distance from the center (Gutschow 1980; Gutschow and Klöver 1975; Gutschow, Klöver, and Shresthacarya 1987). In the past, the hierarchy was visually and materially manifest through sumptuary regulations that, while now not law, are still part of the cultural landscape. Crudely sketched, the mandala map demarcates concentric zones that are roughly identical to the hierarchy of the town's social topography. Closeness to the center indicates higher rank. For instance, on the mandala map the central zone demarcated by the three Ganesh sanctuaries on the inner rhomboid encloses the ideal residential quarters of the Brahmins. This quarter is also closely affiliated with the royal Malla palace, the center of political power. Other castes are plotted on the map according to prestige and statuses in the Hindu caste system. Other artisans, butchers, scavengers, and menial laborers are located outside the inner city, and some even outside of the city proper (Gellner 1985; Parish 1994).

2. The Government Map

Walk up the stairs from the Indrani shrine and through the newly constructed city gate, turn right, and walk for about ten minutes until you arrive at Bhaktapur's Bhabaco neighborhood, the spot where the express bus from Kathmandu drops off passengers. If you walked this path on Sunday, January 24, 1999, you would have come across a brick gate

about thirty feet tall that was in the process of being constructed. Hanging from the gate's temporary bamboo scaffolding was a sign in Nepali proclaiming, "The Nepal Peasants and Workers Party (*Nepal Majdur Kisan Party* [NeMaKiPa]) Third Annual Major Convention."¹² The Nepal Peasants and Workers Party is the local leftist group that has dominated politics in the municipality since it was founded in 1976.

The gate is one of six that the municipality is planning to build around the perimeter of the city. Built upon the sites of portals that once marked the boundaries of the city's defensive wall, the gates are now being reconstructed to symbolically enclose the territory as an autonomous political entity. As we saw in the mayor's speech, the main concern is to defend against the "governmentality" radiating from Kathmandu. In Nepal since 1951 the spread of governmentality has been justified through the ideology of "development," which turns traditional forms of social action into a problem that hinders modern forms of governing and economics (table 2). "Indeed," as Raymond Williams writes, "traditionalism seems to be becoming specialized to a description of habits and beliefs inconvenient to virtually any innovation, traditionalist is almost always dismissive" (1983:319–20).

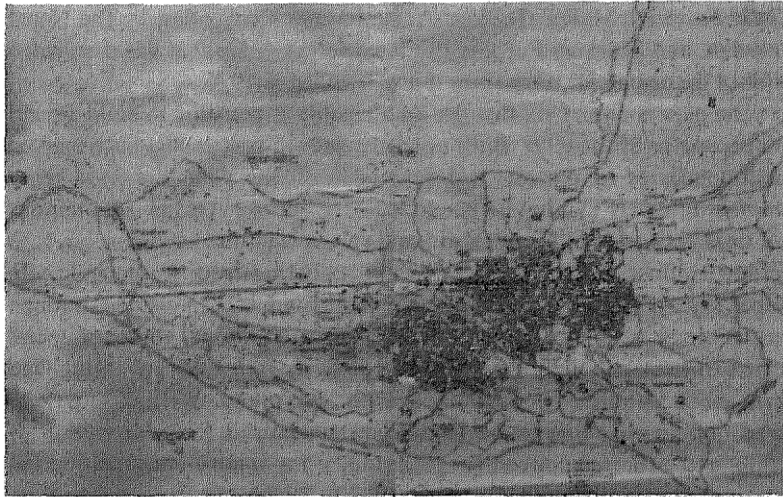
In Bhaktapur, development discourse is a powerful political tool that seemingly can be used to legitimate almost any action. Not only is development the "chess board" on which much political maneuvering occurs, but when one is hailed in the name of development, one has to answer. Rather than give up this powerful rhetoric, politicians in Bhaktapur seek greater control over it. Accordingly, the gates are not constructed to stop development, but to regulate its flow into the city. To trace how development's governmentality plays into configuring Bhaktapur's territory, I describe (1) the cartographic artifact of a Nepali government map drawn in 1976, (2) the lexicon of governmentality and its authoritative myth of development, and (3) the interpellative apparatus of politics (fig. 5; table 1).

2a. The Cartographic Artifact: Nepali Government Map

Printed on rough, thin paper, the government map is twenty-three by twenty-six inches. It is printed in purple ink and was made by the "solar blueprint method" of reproduction. The map, written in Nepali, was produced by the national Panchayat. Its main concern is with depicting

12 On names and forms of Nepal's Leftist parties, see www.broadleft.org/np.htm.

"development," modern political districts, building patterns and roads and rivers, along with town borders.



*Figure 5: Bhaktapur's government map.
Produced by the Nepali Government, 1976.*

2b. Authoritative Lexicon: Developmental Governmentality

The government map's lexicon construes "governmentality." Barthes defines governmentality as those discourses that make the government seem like an effective agent (1972). Foucault sees governmentality as a form of power that is exercised through an ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, which results in the formation of specific governmental apparatuses and of a whole complex of power (1991). Foucault uses the term to gloss government rationality and defines it as "the way the conduct of individuals is found implicated in an ever more marked fashion, in the exercise of sovereign power" (1978:101; cf. Foucault 1991:87–104). Foucault's central theme is that such power does not work through force or exclusion but by implicating people as living subjects in a web of procedures that include such diverse practices as the policing of health and welfare, a social interest in poverty, and a calculation of statistics. In the developed industrialized nations, the "government" tends to dominate over all other social forms, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a series of specific government apparatuses and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of

knowledges—health figures, economic numbers, unemployment percentages, and so on.

Since the 1950s, governmentality in Nepal has been legitimized and spread through the ideology of development. In *Non-Governmental Organizations in Nepal*, Bishwa Maskay defines development “as a process by which the members of society develop themselves and their institutions in ways that enhance their ability to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations” (1998:12, n.39). This understanding of development stems from the ‘United States’ global politics after World War II. In his speech of January 20, 1949, which initiated the Truman Doctrine and ushered in a new understanding of how world affairs should be managed, Harry Truman announced “a worldwide program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge” (cited in Escobar 1995:3). Truman’s proclamation was situated at the end of the New Deal and in the midst of the Marshall Plan in Europe. It was ambitious. With the defeat of fascism and the Depression, it seemed that by replicating the high levels of industrialization and urbanization of the “advanced” democracies, the American dream of “peace and abundance” could be extended to every “underdeveloped” corner of the globe.

In Nepal, people on an everyday level have come to see themselves through the lens of development (Pigg 1992; 1993). In Bhaktapur, how they saw themselves varies depending on one’s occupation and one’s relation to physical labor. Storeowners and office workers, such as the shopkeeper Mr. Hada, tended to define development as “facilities: communications, roads, transport and other similar things” (personal communication, May 5, 1999). Farmers and laborers tended to see development in terms of the technologies it brought to their work. For instance, Durukaji Suwal, a mason and farmer, said, “now we have lots of new tools that we did not have in the past—that is development” (personal communication, July 8, 1999). Intellectuals tended to see development as both economic and mental. For instance, Yogesh Raj, a Brahmin and Newari activist, defined development both as “a high standard of living, good health, and a good economy” and “improved mental peace” (personal communication, February 6, 1999).

Yet, how did Truman’s American dream for the globe become the dominant modern “myth” of Nepal? The Nepali word for development is

bikās, which is defined as “bloom, expanding, progress, development” and stems from the Sanskrit *vikāśa*, “to appear, become visible, shine forth.” Since the introduction of the “break-open the fountain of development” plan in the early 1970s, *bikās* has taken on its contemporary meaning and come into use with increasing regularity in both national and local media (Wake 1980). Because of its immense rhetorical power, *bikās* is one of the most commonly heard words in Nepal today (cf. Des Chene 1996). Now *bikās* is such that anyone who has worked in Nepal since the 1970s hardly could have missed daily exposure to the word. In fact, the myth of development is probably the single most important ideological factor in contemporary Nepali society. Crudely stated, the development myth narrates Nepal’s emergence from the “dark ages” of Rana isolation in the early 1950s and the nation’s modernization and unification with the outside world. Ideally, the myth of development promises social betterment and an increase of well-being, equality, productivity, and opportunity. More concretely, it vows to create better health facilities, environmental factors, employment conditions, and educational opportunities. In other words, development discourse is an overriding ideology that operates as a social field that binds together many different ethnic groups, political parties, and classes (Des Chene 1996).

The *bikās* myth seeps into almost every aspect of Nepali life. At the highest levels, development discourse finds its way into political speeches, editorials, and daily news. Moreover, it trickles into everyday use such as what it means to be “Nepali.” For instance, the Sunday supplement to the *Kathmandu Post* features a weekly section called “School Side,” composed of poems, stories, and pictures by children. The children’s work is regularly about development. Take, for example, an essay from the *Kathmandu Post*, September 12, 1999, by Pragya Chalisey, grade 6 from the Gyankunj HS School, which reads, “We are taught in the school that Nepal is a poor and least developed country. We frequently read the same thing in the newspapers. The same voice is heard on Radio Nepal. Nepal television highlights the poor situation of Nepal. For a long time, our leaders have been begging foreign assistance in the name of poverty.”

2c. *Interpellative Apparatus: Political Discourse*

The government map highlights two aspects of the landscape: (1) physical developments such as roads and (2) electoral districts. It is the practice of politics that brings these two aspects together and thus emplots the map

onto the space of the city. "Politics" can be defined as the science or art of governing by which a body of people are organized. On a more realistic level, it is strategies of obtaining power, the methods or maneuvers by which one's will and desires are made manifest. The general word used in Nepal is *rājñīti* (literally, the "king's policy"), and it glosses both these meanings. Yet, within this definition, the word holds a wide play of significations. A long-term politician said, "When we simply look at [politics], it is a part of life. And life cannot operate without politics. It is a mechanism for running the country" (personal communication, June 10, 1999). Almost all other people felt that politics was corrupt, that the politicians were not living up to democracy. A middle-aged shopkeeper said, "In Nepal, [politics] is a path for filling one's pockets. In other contexts, it is social work. Some politicians get money, and those that do social work get fame" (personal communication, May 7, 1999). Yet even with this disillusionment, there was a sense that politics still contained a chance for social justice through development. A high-level bureaucrat said, "[Politics] is an oath to achieve human rights" (personal communication, May 21, 1999). And a local farmer told me, "In action, [the politicians] are just reaching out their hands. People's needs are neglected.... Because there are a lot of farmers in Bhaktapur, the government is always oppressing them. Here in Bhaktapur, politics has been good for the people" (personal communication, August 12, 1997). The farmer's assessment was supported by the perspective of a young, middle-class, left-wing intellectual, who said, "In Bhaktapur, there are lots of farmers, and they have a hard life and much oppression in daily life. I'm active in helping to solve these problems. Politics in Bhaktapur has been good. But national politics is another story. For that reason, we in Bhaktapur have to look after our own interests" (personal communication, August 14, 1997).

Political discourse is interpellative because when someone "hails" you with it, you must respond. For instance, on a Sunday night before Nepal's 1999 election, I sat drinking tea and talking at the Chandrayan Sweets tea stall. I had bought some Nepal Peasants and Workers Party political materials and was sitting on the street corner browsing through the pamphlets. A group of acquaintances came over to talk with me. They saw what I was reading, and one said, "Are you going to become Chicago's Rohit (Bhaktapur's de facto political leader [cf. Grieve 2002a:45-53])?" I replied, "We've already got one, his name is [Richard] Daley." Although I tried to use humor to deflate the incident, I could tell that I had alienated some and made others friendlier. Politics in Bhaktapur

is a serious everyday concern. With whom you talk and associate not only has an effect on how you are perceived, but also has a direct impact on one's pedestrian affairs.

2d. Ideology: A Developing Tradition

Tradition is ideological in the government map because it authorizes development. As James Ferguson argues in *The Anti-Politics Machine*, the result of such development projects is not the lessening of suffering and poverty, but rather the expansion of bureaucratic state power and the transmutation of the political aspects of poverty into technical problems that can only be solved by development experts (1994). In a similar vein, Arturo Escobar, in *Encountering Development*, maps out how the industrialized nations of North America and Europe came to be seen as appropriate models for societies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (1995). Escobar maintains that development policies are mechanisms of control and power that are as pervasive and effective as their colonial counterparts. This ideological use of development is evident in Anne Haaland's 1982 book, *Bhaktapur a Town Changing: Process Influenced by [the] Bhaktapur Development Project*, which was produced by the Gesellschaft Fuer Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). The book was published because between the middle of 1979 and the middle of 1980, the GTZ found itself in a predicament. Rather than appreciating the temple restoration that the Bhaktapur Development Project (BDP) had done, the people in Bhaktapur were tearing down some of the project's works and expressing open hostility toward the project staff. Rather than viewing these actions as local concerns brought to a head by Nepal's political troubles, Haaland writes these off as being the results of a lack of education and resistance to change (Haaland 1980a, 1980b, 1982).

3. The Tourist Map

Finish your glass of tea, walk out of Chandrayan Sweets, and turn to your right and retrace your steps. If you walk east around the edge of the pond, past the furniture stores, past the photo shops, and past the cinema hall, you will arrive in Itachhen Square. To the east is a white gate built by King Bhupatindra Malla, which is located just west of Bhaktapur's Palace Square. Next to the gate is a sign that reads (in English), "Dear Guests: You are cordially requested to help us renovate our common heritage and make the following contribution: (1) Rs. 300 [300 rupees] per tourist and (2) Rs. 30 [30 rupees] for Tourists from SAARC countries [India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and the Maldives] per tourist.

We thank you for your pleasant stay in this 'living heritage.' Bhaktapur Municipality."

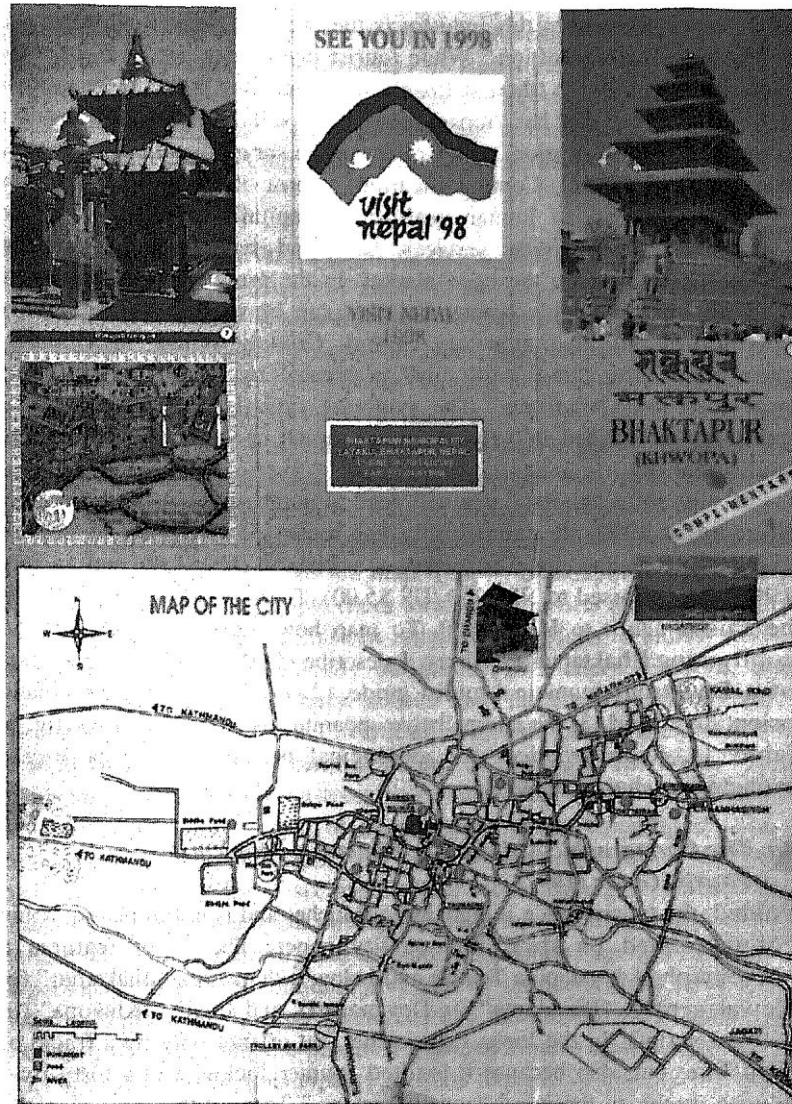


Figure 6: The tourist map commodifies the space of the city, offering it for sale. Produced by Bhaktapur's municipality in 1997.

Besides development (but integral to it), Bhaktapur is now part of a large, coordinated tourist industry, organized by a central government authority and involving many locations throughout the Kathmandu Valley and Nepal. Central to this industry is the changing social and territorial reproduction of "tradition." While tourist myths may not have invented Bhaktapur's tradition (there definitely was something there before tourists arrived), it certainly has "repackaged" it for sale. This repackaging is a type of commodification, which refers to the subordination of culture to the logic of capital. Commodification, a term often used critically to describe the loss of human qualities in capitalist production, is the tendency to turn goods, services, land, and even human labor into products for sale on the open market. In the present global economy, tradition is a valuable commodity that can be used to gain not only distinction but also monetary capital. Crudely stated, in a tourist cosmology, the "traditional city" is created by translating religious practices into "tradition." The symbolic capital of tradition is then exchanged ("cashed in") for monetary capital in the social field of the traditional city.

If you are a "tourist," you will need to purchase a ticket to continue. Starting in 1993, the municipality has requested foreigners to pay an entrance fee to the city. The fee began as NRs 50 (US \$1.00) and, in July 1996, it was raised to NRs 300 (US \$5.00). There is talk that it will soon be raised again to US \$10.00. To map how tourism plays a part in configuring Bhaktapur's territory, I describe (1) the cartographic artifact of a Bhaktapur municipal tourist guide, (2) the lexicon of a pragmatic orientalism, and (3) the interpellative apparatus of tourist practices (fig. 6; table 1). Such practices are ideological because they depoliticize monetary exchange (table 2).

3a. The Cartographic Artifact: The Bhaktapur Municipal Tourist Guide (1997)

Folded, the tourist guide is eight by four inches and is in full photographic color, printed on slick, high-quality paper. The cover features a photograph of Nyatapola Temple and below it the words "Bhaktapur" (in Newar script), "Bhaktapur" (in Devanagari), and finally "Khwopa" (in Roman script). In the lower right corner, set off not only by a frame of light blue but also because it is tilted counterclockwise at a forty-five-degree angle, is the word "complimentary." Turning the map over, the back cover features the logo for the nationally sponsored "Visit Nepal '98" program. Also, framed in a small blue block are the name, address,

and phone number of Bhaktapur's municipality. Opening the map, one encounters a third page, which folds out from the left edge of the back cover and features a photo of Wakupati Narayan Temple, as well as an advertisement for the publishers. The advertisement is roughly split diagonally in between two drawings of traditional Newar homes (in brown) and rice fields (in blue). In the lower left corner is a small red and white etching that depicts a woman in Newar farmer dress. Opening the map completely reveals the "Map of the City," which depicts tourist sites and businesses.

3b. Authoritative Lexicon: A Pragmatic Orientalism

As the tourist map indicates, any notion of an "unguided" or independent tourist is erroneous. While travelers in South Asia valorize such independence against the "group-tour" types, there are, in fact, very few individual travelers who go anywhere "on their own" without at least one much-consulted guidebook or map. Such a map, just like a flesh and blood guide, tells one what must be seen and how to see it. Tourists are thus always embedded in discourses and structures that make tourism a meaningful, rule-bound, and powerfully productive activity.

While the tourist map was produced for tourists, in the pursuit of money, locals are drawn into the map. That is, Bhaktapur's tourist map gains authority because people (both locals and tourists) act *as if* the city represents ancient isolated Eastern religiosity. In Nepal's tourist myth, religion is what is authentically indigenous, premodern, Eastern, and exotic. In Bhaktapur, the tourist lexicon casts the city as a "medieval," "oriental," and "isolated." As I overheard numerous tourists exclaim, "this is what Nepal must have been like before the coming of the West." And locals are eager both to reconstruct the city as a stage and to sell the props and play parts in the myth of a premodern other. Opening the map completely displays a surface that is twelve by sixteen and one-half inches and is made up of six panels (four inches by eight inches). The text, in English, on the upper three panels describes Bhaktapur as a city of culture where the "peasantry and artisans still celebrate age-old festivals." It goes on to tell about continual invasions by intruders, the Newar King Yaksha Malla's fortification of the city and the installation of the eight mother goddesses, and the harmony between Hindus and Buddhists. It ends by endorsing the municipality's efforts to preserve the city and local environs and hoping that the tourist's "sojourn, be it a prolonged or a brief one" is "blissful and perpetual."

The local use of the rhetorics of "exoticism" and "authenticity" can be understood as a pragmatic form of orientalism. According to Edward Said, orientalism refers to three intertwined phenomena (1978). First, orientalism is the purview of anyone who claims to have expert knowledge or a special understanding of oriental cultures. Second, orientalism is a style of discourse based upon the assumption that there is an ontological and epistemological distinction between the "East" and "West." And third, "Orientalism can be discussed . . . as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1978:2–3). By calling the tourist map's authoritative lexicon "pragmatic," I mean to indicate that a "Western style" of dominating is not limited to the West. For what the tourist map indicates, as a locally produced document, is that "orientals" can use the myth of orientalism for their own purposes.

3c. Interpellative Apparatus: Tourist Practices

By numbering specific attractions, and by laying out a circumscribed route, the map directs tourist experience. In effect, Bhaktapur becomes a corridor—between the Tourist Bus Park on the west and Datatreya Square on the east—along which tourists view authentic sites and buy traditional souvenirs (cf. Grieve 2002a:53–58, 94–109). Tourism has been described in a numerous ways.¹³ These descriptions, however, can be categorized into two basic theories: critical and romantic. On the one hand, the critical description poses tourism not only as essentially spurious and superficial, but as politically and ethically wrong. The tourist is described as one of the most virulent viruses of neoimperialism, the foot soldier of late capitalism. On the other hand, romantic studies of cultural tourism have tended to theorize it as a pilgrimage by alienated modern individuals who seek the authenticity of other times and places away from their everyday life. Tourism is understood as a leisure activity that presupposes its opposite, namely, regulated and organized work and the consumptive labor of late capitalism. As John Urry writes, "Tourism experiences are, by comparison with the everyday, out of the ordinary" (1990:2).

Moreover, because of the monetary value of tourism, locals have willingly come to play a part in the tourist cosmology. As I came to realize, for many in Bhaktapur who had little education and little interaction with foreigners, the words "American" and "tourist" signified

13 See Boorstin 1964; Cohen 1982; Coppock 1978; Debord 1987; Eco 1986; Kunwar 1997; Nash 1979; Toffler 1971.

all those from "developed" industrial countries around the globe. Krisnamaya Koju said, "tourist are known as Americans, but really they are French, Spanish, Italian, and German. There are all sorts of tourists" (personal communication, July 15, 1999). People with more education or who tended to have more interaction with tourists had more nuanced notions. For instance, the tourist store owner Kesab Hada simply said that "tourists are those who come to visit. Either domestic or international. There are many subcategories" (personal communication, May 5, 1999).

For most in Bhaktapur, tourism was seen both as advantageous and disadvantageous. Most saw tourism as positive because it brought in business, helped renovate the temples, and was thereby a way to develop the city. Yet the smokeless industry of tourism is not without its problems. As the mayor's speech at the bus park indicated, many felt that tourism leaves "cultural pollution." This is a term usually uttered in English and is compiled from notions of industrial and ritual pollutions. The greatest effects of cultural pollution were seen as affecting religious practice and young people. For instance, Ram Locha Jha felt that tourism's pure business motive was destroying the city's religious structure. "Tourism has changed the city because tourism is based on the business motive. Just about earning money It is not good to break [religious] rules for money. All the rules are being broken for money, people are leaving the kind of work they should do, they are not doing their own religion, and they are not doing their rites of passage. This has caused harm to the city" (personal communication, May 9, 1999).

Seen as either positive or negative, however, it is money that defines tourism in Bhaktapur. For instance, in a speech from March 22, 1994, Comrade Rohit (Narayan Man Bijukchhe) argued, "Art and culture is our legend of glory and pride. Because of that reason, tourism has fostered in our country. The tourism industry comes in second or third position in yearly badly needed hard currency." The farmer Durukaji Suwal put it more straightforwardly: "Tourists are Americans; from their visits we are becoming developed. When [tourists] come to Bhaktapur and buy something they leave money. It is good because we don't have much money" (personal communication, July 8, 1999). In short then, from a local logic, tourists are what they buy. And tourists are seen to experience Bhaktapur in a theater of purchases. Everything they touch is tinged with a monetary nimbus. What the tourist purchases is Bhaktapur's exotic "religion," which is not only on display in the form of "authentic" religious objects and antiques, but also commodified through souvenirs into objects for sale.

On a local level, what gives the lexicon of the exotic East authority is its monetary value. How the tourist map emplots money and religion can be viewed in the lower panels of the map. On one side are three panels that list lodges, restaurants, and hotels. Spread throughout the other six panels are eleven photographs and corresponding numbers that indicate their locations on the map. The map itself shows the main streets in the city, ponds and rivers, and transportation sites and main squares. There are also ten numbers that indicate the location of monuments, which are correlated to the photographs. For instance, number one corresponds to Nyatapola Temple, while number two corresponds to Wakupati Narayan Temple. On an individual level, commodification of religion also interpellates people into the tourist map. For instance, one morning in August 1995 I was walking Bhaktapur's procession route. I came across an altercation between a local woman worshiping at a local Ganesh shrine and a tourist. It seemed that the tourist had taken the woman's photograph and that the woman was demanding that the tourist pay her for it. The tourist was yelling back that he did not need to pay her because he had already paid the entry fee to Bhaktapur.

3d. Ideology: Selling Tradition

Such exchanges are ideological because the exchange of money naturalizes and obfuscates a host of asymmetrical power relations behind the fetish of commodities. As Karl Marx writes, "The fetishism with commodities arises from the social character of the labor which produced them It is only by being exchanged that the products of labor acquire uniformity of values . . . seemingly inherent in them" (1936:163-77). Accordingly, while on the ground in Bhaktapur the mixing of tourists and locals brings in other cultural forms and fields of desire, its defining feature is a commodity fetishism that naturalizes an oriental view of Nepal because it obscures the social labor needed to reproduce the tourist experience. Because Nepalis themselves are part of what is on sale, tourism often turns people themselves into commodities. On the one hand, locals become service providers whose cheap labor is justified through vague notions of orientalism. And like the story of the tourist and the photographer, "the native" may be viewed as an object for sale. In extreme situations, as Erik Cohen writes, "as far as the tourists are concerned, the inhabitants of exotic places are not human beings but rather zoological objects" (1988:365). Conversely, as many of the tourist guides in the city repeatedly explained to me, the tourists are sometimes seen not as people, but as "walking dollars."

Conclusion: Correcting Tradition

It is necessary to correct one's understanding of Bhaktapur's cosmologies in order to treat the negative effects of an orientalist ahistorical understanding of tradition. This is especially important for foreign scholars whose scholarship has done much of the iatrogenic damage to Bhaktapur. I began by maintaining that Bhaktapur's "tradition" is not an essential indigenous category, but has been produced in the intersection between global forces and local concerns. Because scholars such as Robert Levy dichotomize tradition to modernity, they reify Bhaktapur's social order as both timeless and an accidental fossil that will dissipate in the face of modernity. By posing the city as both archaic and outside of history altogether, Levy can imagine Bhaktapur's "dirt and foul smells" not as poverty stemming from postcolonialization, but as "a clearing in a yet more ancient world" (1990:56). Levy's account needs correction, then, because he constitutes the social organization of the city in such a way as to transform a historical contingent set of power relations and hierarchies of knowledge into an essential symbolic order. He turns politics into an essential part of culture. As he writes about politics in the city during his fieldwork, "for the time being, however, at the city level Bhaktapur has little effective local political control" (1990:62).

If, as the mayor's speech indicates, traditional places are not essential things that can be preserved and displayed like an exhibit in a museum, but are rather an effective set of cultural practices, then the most productive way for interpreting the space of the city is to trace the cosmographic logics by which Bhaktapur has been transformed into a traditional place. To tease out the city's cosmologies I have critically analyzed three cosmographic artifacts: the mandala, government, and tourist maps (compare figs. 3–6 and table 1). By critically reading these three maps through a theory of cosmology, one finds that in each "tradition" plays an ideological role (table 2). Yet while the structural significance of tradition plays a similar function in each map, the meaning of "tradition" is different in each case. (1) In the mandala map, tradition describes effective everyday religious practices that have been compiled from past generations and inscribes an ideology of caste social structure. (2) In the government map, tradition describes underdevelopment and emplots postcolonial relations. And (3) in the tourist map, "tradition" is money and commodifies the city's landscape.

Once one de-mythologizes traditional places, two points become clear. First, while the tourist and government "cosmologies" may have been imported, they are now firmly implanted in Bhaktapur's territory. Second,

while once the tourist and government maps may have been “Western” cosmologies used to dominate Bhaktapur, they are now, like a gun for hire, being utilized for local purposes. Just as colonial cultural forms were often folded back upon the empire (Kildea and Leach 1976), development discourse can be appropriated as rhetoric for mobilizing against the state. That is, as the mayor’s speech at the Tourist Bus Park indicates, because tradition is contemporary and constructed by people, it can be used by local groups not only to resist the authority of international organizations and the state, but for local ends.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the editors of SINHAS for useful comments on previous drafts of this paper.

References

- Althusser, Louis. 1971. *Lenin and Philosophy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Argüelles, José and Miriam Argüelles. 1972. *Mandala*. Berkeley: Shambala.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bangdel, Dina. 1999. *Manifesting the Mandala: A Study of the Core Iconographic Program of Newar Buddhist Monasteries in Nepal*. Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University.
- Barthes, Roland. 1972. *Mythologies*. New York: Noonday Press.
- Barthes, Roland. 1974. *S/Z*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1979. *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*. San Diego: Harcourt Trade Publishers.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1997. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. New York: Verso.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1999. *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Bhabha, Homi. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Black, Jeremy. 1997. *Maps and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blom, Margriet Lyde Brechta. 1989. *Getekende Goden: Modelboeken van Nepalese Schilders*. Ph. D. diss., University of Utrecht.
- Bolle, Kees. 1978. Cosmology: An Overview. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol 4, pp. 100–105. New York: Macmillan Publishing.
- Boorstin, D. 1964. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Harper.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. 1989. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Carter, James Donald and Judith Squires. 1993. *Space and Place: Theories in Identity and Location*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

- Cohen, Erik. 1982. Marginal Paradises: Bungalow Tourism on the Islands of Southern Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9: 189–228.
- Cohen, Erik. 1988. Traditions in the Qualitative Sociology of Tourist Types. *Annals of Tourism Research* 16: 377–98.
- Coppock, R. 1978. The Influence of Himalayan Tourism on Sherpa Culture and Habitat. *Zeitschrift für Kulturextausch* 3: 61–68.
- Debord, Guy-Ernest. 1958. Theory of the Dérive. *Internationale Situationniste* no.2. Available at <http://www2.cddc.vt.edu/situationist/si/theory.html>.
- Debord, Guy-Ernest. 1987. *The Society of the Spectacle*. London: Rebel Press and Aim Publications.
- Dent, Borden D. 1990. *Cartography: Thematic Map Design*. 2d ed. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown.
- Des Chene, Mary. 1996. In the Name of Bikās. *Studies in Nepali History and Society* 1(2): 259–70.
- Dutt, Binode Bihari. 1977. *Town Planning in Ancient India*. New Delhi: New Asian Publishers.
- Eco, Umberto. 1986. *Travels in Hyper-Reality*. London: Picador.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978. Sécurité, territoire, et populations. In *Résumé des cours, 1970–1982*, pp. 99–106. Paris: Julliard.
- Foucault, Michel. 1991. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, eds. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Gellner, David. 1986. Language, Caste, Religion and Territory: Newar Identity Ancient and Modern. *European Journal of Sociology* 27(1): 102–148.
- Gellner, David. 1992. *Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grieve, Gregory. 2002a. *The Practice of Everyday Religion in Bhaktapur, Nepal*. Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Grieve, Gregory. 2002b. Signs of Tradition: Compiling a History of Development, Politics, and Tourism in Bhaktapur, Nepal. *Studies in Nepali History and Society* 7(2): 281–307.
- Gutschow, Niels. 1980. *Stadtraum und Ritual der Newarischen Städte Im Kathmandu-tal: Eine architekture anthropologische Untersuchung*. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.
- Gutschow, Niels, and Bernard Klöver. 1975. *Ordered Space Concepts and Functions in a Town of Nepal: Bhaktapur*. Baden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH.
- Gutschow, Niels, Bernard Klöver, and Ishwaranand Shresthacharya. 1987. *Newar Towns and Buildings: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.

- Haaland, Anne. 1980a. *Communication, Social Change and Attitudes*. Unpublished ms.
- Haaland, Anne. 1980b. *Why Change?* Unpublished ms.
- Haaland, Anne. 1982. *Bhaktapur—A Town Changing: Process Influenced by Bhaktapur Development*. Bhaktapur: Bhaktapur Development Project.
- Harley, J. Brian. 1988. Maps, Knowledge and Power. In *The Iconography of Landscape*. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds., pp. 277-312. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jung, Carl G. 1972. *Mandala Symbolism*. Translated by R. F. C. Hull. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Klöver, Bernhard. 1976. A Ritual Map from Nepal. In *Folia Rara*. H. Francke, W. Heissig, and W. Treue, eds., pp. 70. Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Kunwar, Ramesh. 1997. *Tourism and Development: Science and Industry Interface*. Kathmandu: Laxmi Kunwar.
- Lewis, Todd. 1984. *The Tuladhars of Kathmandu: A Study of Buddhist Traditions in a Newar Merchant Community*. Ph. D. diss., Columbia University.
- Levy, Robert (with the collaboration of Kedar Raj Rajopadhyaya). 1990. *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lincoln, Bruce. 1991. *Authority: Construction and Corrosion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maling, D. H. 1989. *Measurement from Maps: Principles and Methods of Cartometry*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Marx, Karl. 1936. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. New York: Modern Library.
- Maskay, Bishwa Keshar. 1998. *Non-Governmental Organizations in Development: Search for a New Vision*. Kathmandu: Centre for Development and Governance.
- Metcalf, Barbara and Thomas Metcalf. 2002. *A Concise History of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Monmonier, Mark. 1991. *How to Lie with Maps*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mus, Paul. 1975. *India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*. Translated by I.W. Mabbett. I.W. Mabbett and D.P. Chandler, eds. Clayton, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Mus, Paul. 1998. *Barabudur: Sketch of a History of Buddhism Based on Archaeological Criticism of the Texts*. Translated by Alexander W. Macdonald. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Sterling Publishers.
- Nash, Dennison. 1979. The Rise and Fall of an Aristocratic Tourist Culture. *Annals of Tourism Research* 7: 61-75.

- Parish, Steven. 1994. *Moral Knowing in a Hindu Sacred City*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Parish, Steven. 1996. *Hierarchy and Its Discontents: Culture and the Politics of Consciousness in Caste Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pigg, Stacy Leigh. 1992. Inventing Social Categories through Place: Social Representations and Development in Nepal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34(3): 491–513.
- Pigg, Stacy Leigh. 1993. Unintended Consequences: The Ideological Impact of Development in Nepal. *South Asia Bulletin* 13(1&2): 45–58.
- Prince, Gerlad. 1982. *Narratology: The Form and Function of Narrative*. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.
- Rawson, Philip. 1973. *The Art of Tantra*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schwartzberg, Joseph E. 1992. South Asian Cartography. In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (*The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 1). J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., pp. 293–509. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Slusser, Mary. 1982. *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, Catherine Delano. 1994. Prehistoric Cartography in Asia. In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies* (*The History of Cartography* vol. 2, book 2). J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., pp. 1–13. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. 1993. *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stutley, Margaret and James Stutley. 2003. *A Dictionary of Hinduism, Its Mythology, Folklore and Development 1500 B.C-A.D.1500*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Teilhet, Jehanne. 1978. The Tradition of the Nava Durga in Bhaktapur, Nepal. *Kailash* 6(2): 81–98.
- Toffler, Alvin. 1971. *Future Shock*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1961. *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*. Translated by Alan Houghton Brodrick. New York: Samuel Weiser.
- Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze*. Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Vajracarya, Dhanavajra, ed. 1962. *Itihāsasaṁśodhanko Pramāṇa-Prameya*. Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan.
- Vukonic, Boris. 1996. *Tourism and Religion*. Oxford: Tarrytown.
- Walker, James. 1997. *Documentary Photography in the Postmodern Era*. New York: New York University, School of Education.
- Wake, C. J. 1980. *Bikas: Evolution in Nepal*. Kirtipur, Nepal: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

- Weedon, Chris. 1987. *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wheatley, Paul. 1971. *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Williams, Raymond. 1983. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Woodward, David. 1994. Preface. In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies. The History of Cartography* vol. 2, book 2. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., pp. xxiii-xxvii. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yaeger, Patricia, ed. 1996. *The Geography of Identity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Filmography

- Asch, Timothy and Napoleon Chagnon. 1975. *The Ax Fight*. Documentary Educational Resources.
- Kildea, Gary and Jerry Leach. 1976. *Trobriand Cricket: An Indigenous Response to Colonialism*. U.C. Extension.